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best regards.

ON THE OLDEST ARYAN ELEMENT
OF THE
SINHALESE VOCABULARY.

BY PROFESSOR E. KUHN.

TRANSLATED

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ON THE OLDEST ARYAN ELEMENT OF THE SINHALESE VOCABULARY.¹

Among the more prominent languages of India which have had a literary culture, the Sinhalese is the only one to which it has not yet been possible to assign a fixed place in one of the great families of language. While Rask, without adducing any reasons, assigns it a place in the Dravidian family (*Singalesisk Skriftlære*, Preface, p. 1), and F. Müller in the linguistic portion of the work of the *Novara*, p. 203, is inclined to assume a remote family relationship to the Dravidian idioms, and in the *Allgemeine Ethnographie*,² p. 466, even more decidedly indicates the basis of the Sinhalese as Dravidian, and Haas (*Z. d. M. G.* 30, p. 668) maintains at least an influence by the Tamil on the development of the language, any direct relation between Tamil and Sinhalese is brusquely set aside by such a scholar as Caldwell (*Comp. Gramm.* (2d. ed.) p. 111 of the Preface). More recently the opinion that Sinhalese deserves a place among the Aryan dialects is that which has received

¹ Translated from the *Munich Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. hist. Classe der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1879, vol. II, pt. iii, pp. 399-434.

² Cf. the same writer in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1875-6, Part i, p. 73:—"The Sinhalese language is based on the dialect spoken by the colony from Sinhapura in Lâla, on the west coast of India, who drove into the remote parts of the island the former inhabitants, borrowing very little indeed from their language."

most favour. This view, first propounded ably by Alwis (*Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1865-6, p. 143-156; 1867-70, p. 1-86), has been scientifically established by Childers (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S. VII, pp. 35-48;³ VIII, p. 131-155), and has been accepted by the inquirers in the province of Sinhalese inscriptions, Rhys Davids,⁴ P. Goldschmidt (especially in his first report on the subject, printed *int. al.* in *Trübner's Record*, X, pp. 21-22),⁵ and Ed. Müller—the first mentioned with a wise caution, the other two not without allowing themselves to be led into hasty explanations of some words.⁶ As a curiosity, which deserves mention only on account of the highly honoured name of its author, it may also be mentioned, that Lassen (*Ind. Alterthumsk.* (2d. ed.) vol. I, p. 557) considered the language as entirely a Malayo-Polynesian one; the Maldivian, which had its origin in Ceylon, and to which he appeals in support of this view, is however not at all Malayan, but an undoubted dialect of the current Sinhalese

³ See note 2, p. 3.

⁴ Cf. *loc. cit.* p. 35:—"The Sinhalese is one of the Aryan vernaculars of India, and is spoken by the descendants of a people who migrated from Magadha to Ceylon at a very remote period."

⁵ Cf. *loc. cit.* p. 22:—"Sinhalese is now proved to be a thorough Aryan dialect, having its nearest relations in some of the dialects used in King Asoka's inscriptions, as well as in the Mahārāshtrī Prākṛit of the Indian middle-age, while it differs from Pāli in very essential points."

⁶ I refer particularly to the adoption by E. Müller (*Report on the Inscriptions in the Hambantota District*, 1878, p. 5; *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 224), following the example of Goldschmidt, of the conjunctive *usati* from the root *as*.



(though indeed perhaps mixed with foreign elements), which will probably throw more light on it than it is able of itself to do.⁷

Of the different views expressed only that relating to the Aryan character of the language can be subjected to a critical examination: for it alone can on satisfactory ground be brought forward; all the others rest upon bare assertions. Let us first examine the subject independently of all historical suppositions. Setting aside all Sanskrit tatsamas and casual loans from the Pāli for religious and suchlike ideas, there remains in the Sinhalese of all periods and classes of literature a remarkable stock of Aryan words, among them all the numerals and a good part of the pronouns and particles. If to this be added the fact that the declension is morphologically scarcely distinct from that of the modern Aryan languages of India, also that a paradigm like that given in Alwis's edition of the *Sidat Saṅgará*, p. 191—

Sing. 1. <i>karam</i>	Pl. 1. <i>karamu</i>
<i>karami</i>	<i>keremu</i>
<i>kerem</i>	<i>karamó</i>
<i>keremá</i>	<i>karamha</i>
	<i>karamhu</i>
2. <i>kerehi</i>	2. <i>karaku</i>
	<i>ka, ev</i>

⁷ See *Vocabulary of the Maldivian Language*, compiled by W. Christopher, *Journal of the R. As. Soc.* VI, p. 42-76, and *Dictionnaire de quelques mots de la Langue des Maldives interpretés en François*: supplement to the *Seconde Partie de Voyage de François Pyrard*, Paris, 1669; cf. A. Gray in *loc. cit.* N. S. X, pp. 173-209.—Alwis has also left an essay on this subject: see *Trübner's Record*, XI, p. 132.

Sing. 3. *keré*Pl. 3. *karat̄**karati**keret**kereti*

agrees closely enough with an Aryan

Sing. 1. *karámi*Pl. 1. *karámas*2. *karasi*2. *karatha*3. *karati*3. *karanti*

—and finally that a whole number of derived verbal forms and participial formations have been traced back by Childers with undoubted correctness to Aryan sources, the view of a purely Aryan character of the language has certainly something uncommonly attractive about it. But the pleasing impression vanishes if we look closer into the language actually in use. Forms like those of the paradigm just quoted, while not over-abundant in the so-called Elu of the old poetry, disappear in the modern prose as good as entirely before *karanavá* for all persons alike, and the proper formation of tenses and moods shows only a distant connection with that to which we are accustomed in the modern Aryan languages.

Here we may appropriately consider more closely the historical argument of the view in question. Its supporters, Rhys Davids and Childers in *loc. cit. supra*, and P. Goldschmidt in his *Report on Inscriptions found in the North-Central Province and in the Hambantota District*, 1876, p. 3, rightly take as their starting point the popular local tradition, that Vijaya, a king's son of Lála, about the time of Buddha's death conquered Ceylon, and thus caused an extensive colonization of the island by Aryan settlers (cf. the succinct description in

Lassen's *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, (2d. ed.) vol. II, p. 103 ff.). This Lâla, Rhys Davids looks for on the west coast of India, evidently following Lassen, who wished to identify it with the province of Lâṭa or Lâṭika, the Λαρκή of the Greeks. According to the account given in the *Mahāvamsa*, however, which must be here considered, and from the importance of which Lassen himself (*loc. cit.* vol. I, p. 679, note 2) could not detract, Lâla lies undoubtedly in the neighbourhood of Vāṅga and Magadha: hence Childers and P. Goldschmidt with much greater reason considered it as a division or a border state of Magadha. We may also with Kiepert (*Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*, pp. 41-2) attribute the geographical homonyms to the fact of a direct intercourse between Ceylon and the Ganges region. At any rate there can be no good reason for casting doubt on the fact of such an Aryan immigration, in spite of the uncertainty of the Sinhalese chronology and the mythical colouring of the narrative in question.

However considerable may have been the number of these settlers, they are not to be compared with that immense stream of immigrants which at a former period brought the whole of the Ganges region under the power of the Aryan language. A mixed language is what might be expected at first in our case. We are at once reminded of the analogous example in Java, by which, through lexical influence of the Sanskrit on the Javanese, the oldest literary dialect of the island, the Kawi, was formed. But on a closer inspection matters will be found quite otherwise in Ceylon. The Kawi was indeed only the language of literature,

which was first built up by the learned, to whom the Sanskrit, as the sacred language of their religious culture, was more or less familiar: characteristic of this is the mingling of Sanskrit words, so as to invest it with a peculiar dress. The Prâkrit dialects, which the immigrants undoubtedly spoke among themselves, would soon be exchanged for the idiom of their new fellow-countrymen, which for its part could borrow Sanskrit words only from the literary dialect. The grammar of the Kawi, like that of the popular language, remained absolutely unaffected by Aryan influences.⁸ In Ceylon, on the contrary, the true popular speech is, even in respect of the grammar itself, largely permeated by Aryan elements, and even if no certain conclusions can be drawn from these for a more exact determination of the origin, the oldest elements of the greatly preponderating Aryan vocabulary, through their phonetic relations, exhibit, as the only possible basis, an old Prâkrit dialect, which must have passed wholly and entirely through similar phonetic changes to the Pâli. The immigrants were therefore numerous enough to use the language spoken by them, not simply in their intercourse among themselves, but also to ensure to it in the course of years an extension and acceptance among the natives as a common means of communication. The indigenous population gave up almost entirely their own stock of words, and accustomed themselves to the new Aryan appellations.⁹ Only, however, so

⁸ Cf. Kern in Cust's *Modern Languages of the East Indies*, p. 18.

⁹ Cf. Caldwell's *Comp. Gram.* (2nd ed.) p. 578.

far as it was possible : the phonetic system of their own tongue had become much weaker than that of its penetrating victorious rival, and it is the after-effects of this that first gave to the Prâkṛit dialect its peculiar Sinhalese colouring. Such a thorough disorganization of the original phonetic system, such exceedingly strange changes of certain words,¹⁰ are only possible where a language has been grafted on an entirely new stock, which is not in the least prepared for its reception. The heterogeneous elements in the composition of forms complete the characteristic. Sinhalese is therefore, in spite of its preponderating Aryan aspect, a mixed speech, whose deeper lying peculiarities remain inexplicable so long as its non-Aryan element is denied.

To what linguistic family this non-Aryan substratum of Sinhalese belongs, must for the present be left undecided. That the original population of Ceylon was of Dravidian race, as Caldwell indeed more than once maintains, certainly seems evident from anthropological and ethnological stand-points, as well as from the horrible demon worship (cf. on this subject Dandris de Silva Gooneratne, in the *Journ. of the Ceylon Branch of the R. As. Soc.* 1865-6, pp. 1-117) reminding one entirely of the Dekhan, and might find a sort of confirmation in many morphological and syntactical as well as various phonetic analogies of the languages. But, since in the word-forming elements themselves a closer relationship cannot be proved, a careful comparison of that portion of the vocabulary which cannot be explained from an Aryan

¹⁰ Cf. for the present Childers in *Journ. of the R. As. Soc.* N. S. VII, p. 37.

stand-point with that of the Dravidian dialects is the only means of securing broader explanations in this direction. Moreover, the dialects of the wild races, or those that have become wild, in the interior, appear to have been partly influenced by the Aryan, in the same manner exactly as Sinhalese proper. Of the language of the Væddâ at least this may be considered certain, according to Max Müller's statement at the London Oriental Congress (*vide* Special Number to vol. IX, of *Trübner's Record*, p. 21, and the remarks of Bertram F. Hartshorne, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, p. 320 : according to the latter the language, in whose vocabulary decidedly Dravidian elements are entirely wanting, must be undoubtedly Aryan, and stand in even closer relationship to Elu¹¹).

The victory of the Aryan element had evidently taken place long before the island was won over to Buddhism by Mahendra's successful missionary labours. What influence Pâli may then have been able to have had on the language, can scarcely be ascertained, on account of their common Prâkrit character. Further inquiry may perhaps succeed, by the fixing of certain peculiarities here and there, in defining the original Sinhalese Prâkrit as distinguished from the Pâli—it shows us for example in the Sinhalese *añga*, horn, for an original **sañga* = Skr. *śṛiṅga*, *a* as against *i* of the Pâli *siṅga* and corresponding forms of the modern Aryan dialects of the Indian Continent,

¹¹ Cf. also *Sidat Saṅgarâ*, ed. Alwis, p. cclxi of the Introduction. Casie Chitty's Vocabulary of the, as it appears, very peculiar Roḍiyâ dialect, quoted by Alwis, *Journ. of the Ceylon Branch R. A. Soc.* 1865-6, p. 149, is unfortunately not accessible to me.

including the Gipsy (Beames, *Comp. Gram.*, I, p. 161; Miklosich, *Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*, vol. VIII, p. 72; cf. Hemachandra, I, 130)—but that this will ever take place to any great extent cannot yet be maintained with any certainty.¹²

It is certainly not in the Buddhist circle of ideas and the language of the religio-philosophical works, the literature of the higher style, that we should now as a rule look for the proofs of the Aryan character of the oldest vocabulary. It is the common round of every-day life, as it finds expression in the present language of conversation, the modern prose, so far as it does not attempt to use Sanskrit words in the place of pure Sinhalese ones, which give us the first certain standpoints in respect of the peculiarities of Indian literary languages in spite of their lesser antiquity. Afterwards, indeed, the inscriptions and the language of the old poetry, the so-called Elu, must also be brought forward and compared with great caution, and some more particular remarks on the character of these therefore will not be out of place.

The inscriptions, according to Goldschmidt's view, begin soon after the introduction of Buddhism. But their value for lexical investigations is not so great as could be wished just at the oldest period, on account of the small number of the remains and the frequent identity of the contents.

¹² Goldschmidt in his *Report on Inscriptions*, &c. 1876, has endeavoured to prove closer connections between the Sinhalese and the Mâgadhî dialect of the Açoka inscriptions. Rhys Davids (*Transactions of the Philol. Soc.* 1875-6, Part I, p. 75) is inclined to estimate the lexical influence of the Pâli as extremely small.

Mistakes increase more and more from careless execution, fragmentary tradition, numerous difficulties in the details, and a deplorable lacuna between the fourth and ninth centuries. Only from the end of the tenth century is there available a material at the same time more extensive and more certain, and from amongst this the inscriptions of the end of the twelfth century published by Rhys Davids (*Journ. of the R. A. Soc. N. S.* vol. VII, pp. 152 ff., 353 ff.) are to be noted as specially useful.

The name *Elu*, older *Helu*, is nothing but a transformation of the Prâkṛit *Sîhala* (*Sidat Saṅgará*, ed. Alwis, p. xxxii. of the Introduction; cf. the author of *Visuddhi Mârga Sanne*, *ibid.* p. clxxi), and signifies therefore first Sinhalese in general, then old Sinhalese, and finally in a special manner the language of the old poetry (cf. Childers, *Journ. of the R. A. Soc. N. S.* vol. VII, p. 36; Rhys Davids, *ibid.* p. 158) which is set forth grammatically in the *Sidat Saṅgará*,¹³ lexically in the *Námâvaliya*,¹⁴ and is used now-a-days solely for poetical works. True, this language, like all in India that fell into the hands of poets and scholars, is more or less an artificial production, and its artificial character is expressly shown with the greatest distinctness by Rhys Davids (*loc. cit.* and *Transactions of the*

¹³ Edited and translated with a lengthy introduction by James Alwis, Colombo, 1852—referred to hereafter as *SS*.

¹⁴ Edited and translated by C. Alwis, Colombo, 1858—referred to hereafter as *N*. The use of this and of several other books which appeared serviceable for my task I owe to the kindness of Professor R. Rost, of London, who has placed at my disposal in the most generous manner the rich stores of works of reference from his library.

Philol. Soc. 1875-6, Part I, p. 74 f.). But the phonetic phenomena upon which he lays so much stress, the shortening of the vowels and the rejection of the consonantal groups, must from first to last be considered as a proof of artificiality. The principal changes caused by this and an allied tendency—as well as the reduction of polysyllabic words to a single syllable, of which Alwis (*SS.* p. xlvii) notes some characteristic examples,—is shared by the Elu with the popular speech, as is evidenced by an overwhelming number of the very commonest words. With much more reason Goldschmidt refers the artificial character of the later Elu—and it is to this alone almost that the available linguistic relics are to be ascribed—to the influence of the Sanskrit vocabulary, and the extremely heterogeneous adaptation of it to the Sinhalese phonetic laws. From the comparison of inscriptions of the kings *M a h i n d a* III (997-1013) and *P a r â k r a m a b â h u* I (1153-1186), he shows (*Report on Inscriptions, &c.* 1876, p. 10) how, while in the time of the first the numerous though still limited Sanskrit (and Pâli) loan words take a Sinhalese phonetic form, in the time of the latter they find an entrance into the language wholly unaltered, and he then continues:—“Shortly after that time Sinhalese literature, as far as it is now extant, must have commenced, its language carrying with it the spoils of many foregoing centuries. To these the poets and paṇḍits added their own inventions: Sanskrit (and Pâli) words artificially, but often with great skill, turned into Sinhalese, and modern Sinhalese words put back into what were supposed to be the ancient forms of them.

Hence the present Sinhalese style has come to be a strange medley of Sinhalese forms of almost all ages, of thoroughly Sinhalese Sanskrit and Pâli words, of the same semi-Sinhalese, of unchanged Sanskrit and Pâli words, and of the random inventions of poets and pandits. It is this variety of forms of the same words which Sinhalese writers take advantage of to render their style elegant, although this custom very little accords with what European readers would consider good taste." In spite of this artificiality the Elu often enough makes use of the only possible true Sinhalese form, where the modern language of conversation favours exclusively the pure Sanskrit form; in such cases, especially whenever the Maldivian steps in in corroboration, we think we may regard the Elu form entirely without suspicion (cf. also Hartshorne's statement regarding the language of the Væddâ, *ante* p. 10).

Let us now turn to a short sketch of the phonetic system.

That a Prakrit dialect of that older phonetic stage, represented substantially by the Pâli, really forms the basis of the Sinhalese, follows, as already remarked above, from the whole appearance of the genuine national words. We are constrained to refer them all back to a phonetic system in which the *r* vowel of the Sanskrit found its representation in *a*, *i*, *u*, the diphthongs *ai*, *au*, in *e*, *o*, the sibilants *ç*, *sh*, in the dental *s*; in which moreover the assimilation of coincident heterogeneous consonants had the greatest latitude of power. Later loan words from the Sanskrit, even if they have undergone the above-mentioned phonetic

changes, are at once to be recognized, especially by the presence of consonants assimilated according to Prakrit phonetic rules: thus *samudura* (Elu: modern tatsama *samudra-ya*) = Skr. *samudra* as contrasted with the pure Sinhalese *muhuda* (modern *mūda*) from **hamuda* = Prākṛit *samudda*, or *miturā* (together with the tatsama *mitra-yā* in the modern language of conversation) = Skr. *mitra* as compared with the Elu *mit* = *mitta*, formed in a genuine Sinhalese manner.

After this preliminary observation on the Prakrit basis it is necessary first of all to determine the extent of the specific Sinhalese phonetic system.¹⁵ The *Sidat Saṅgarā*—to quote first the chief native authority—in § 1 ascribes to the old Sinhalese ten vowels:—*a, á; i, í; u, ú; e, é; o, ó*; and twenty consonants:—*k, g, j; t, ḍ, ṅ; t, d, n; p, b, m; y, r, l, v, s, h, ḷ, añ* (cf. the remarks of Alwis, *SS.* pp. lviii-lxii, 142-146, and Table III), and this is in fact, with the addition of *æ, ǣ* (considered by the author as nothing but modifications of *a, á*), and after deducting the (as we shall see) doubtful *j*, the sum of the original phonetic system. Let us now consider the vowels and consonants more in detail.

In this department, so long as we look purely at the vowels by themselves in single syllables,

¹⁵ In the following remarks, after the sign of equation is placed, except where something else is expressly indicated, the Prākṛit original of the Sinhalese word in question, for which, on account of the similar phonetic basis, reference may generally be made to Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*. Moreover, where only the phonetics have been considered, I have not hesitated to take casual words from the poetic dialect.

the remarkable preference for short vowels strikes us as a special characteristic. We may with some reason compare it with the Dravidian custom of shortening the long vowels of Sanskrit words (Caldwell's *Comp. Gramm.* p. 87), but with still greater justice may we infer from it a condition of language in which just as in the Tibetan¹⁶ a sharp distinction between short and long vowels had not generally taken place. This condition appears to have been universally carried out in radical syllables, so far as more encroaching changes did not step in: *ka-navá*, √*khád*, Prâkr. pres. *khái* (Hemachandra IV, 228; cf. Pâli *kháyita* = Skr. *khádita*, et. al. in Kuhn, *Beitr. z. Pâli Gramm.* p. 56), *kanuva* = *khánu*; *kahinavá*, √*kás*; *gama* = *gáma*; *dana* = *jánu*; *nama* = *náma*; *ya-navá*, √*yá*; *rada*, *raja*, = *rájá*; *isa*, *hisa*, = *sísa*; *dum* = *dhúma*, &c; moreover the Sanskrit-Prâkrit *e*, *o*, have in Sinhalese always the corresponding short sound. Secondarily, long vowels are developed through contraction after a preceding omission of consonants:—*amá* (Elu) = *amata*, Skr. *amṛita*;¹⁷ *udá* = *udaya* (Rhys Davids, *Journ. of the R. As. Soc. N. S.* vol. VII, p. 366); *ví* = *víhi*; *míyá* from **mihiyá* = *músika*; *múda* from *muhuda* = *samudda*; *béná* from *bæhæná* = *bhágineyya* (Rhys Davids, *loc. cit.*); *gé* from

¹⁶ According to Csoma (*Gram. of the Tibetan Language* § 2) the vowels in that tongue are spoken “without any distinction into short and long, but observing a middle-sound.”

¹⁷ In connection with *vatura*, water, this forms the title of the well-known book *Amâvatura*, which we cannot, with Jacobi (*Kalpasûtra*, p. 6), Sanskritize as *Âtmâvatâra*.

geya = *geha*, &c.¹³; but these lengthenings themselves not infrequently give place to still further contraction: *dola* from *dóla* = *dohala* (Childers, *Journ. of the R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. VII, p. 36); *il* for *hil(a)*, in the name of the month *ilmasa*, "cold month," from *hihila* (*vide* Goldschmidt's first *Report* in *Trübner's Record* X, p. 22) = *śísira*. In suffixal syllables long vowels, hitherto inexplicable, are not infrequent, but even here, according to Childers' testimony (*loc. cit.*, VIII, p. 143), the long *á* of the animate masculine, as *minihá*, *putá*, = *manusa*, *puta*, points back to an older *a*, just as the *í* of the feminine does to an older *i*. In the Elu prosody the preponderating shortness of vowel appears also with the condition that every syllable ending in a consonant be considered as long (Alwis, *SS.* p. xci, xcii, cxx).

Very extensive and multiform is the vowel change produced by a following *i*, *í*, by virtue of which the *umlaut* vowels *æ*, *ê*; *i*, *í*; *e*, *é*; are produced from *a*, *á*; *u*, *ú*; *o*, *ó*; transitions which, in the formation of the feminine with *í*, of the passive with original *íya*, of the (participial) preterite with *ita*, have obtained a widespread grammatical acceptance. As Childers has (*loc. cit.* p. 143, 148 ff.) discussed exhaustively all three cases, I can refer generally to his examples, and wish only to call attention to the fact that in passive forms like *kerenavá*, from *karanavá*, *tibenavá* from *tabanavá*, as against the regularly formed *kædenavá* from *kaḍanavá*, greater trans-

¹³ By contraction are also produced in the modern pronunciation secondary diphthongs also: *auva*, *aurudda*, for *ævuva*, *avurudda*, and many more.

formations have taken place, the true cause of which has yet to be discovered. Of other cases of *umlaut* I would also especially mention the abstract suffix *îma* and the suffix of possession *i*: *devîma* from *dovinavá*, √*duh*; *gæmi* from *gama* = *gâma*. In words like *kili* = *kuṭî*; *pirisa* = *purisa*; *iru*, *hiru*, from **hiriya* = *suriya*, the *umlaut* cannot with full certainty be separated from the complete vowel assimilation, which is well attested by such examples as *pili* = *paṭi*; *piri* = *pari*; *dunu* = *dhanu*; *lînu* from *luhunu* for *lahuna* = *lasuna*; *muhuda* from **mahuda* for **hamuda* = *samudda*, and many others. The *i* also, which was produced first by the weakening of other vowels, can, it seems, be produced by *umlaut*: *mæḍiyá* = *maṇḍúka*; *bæma* from **bæmiya* = *bhamuka* (cf. *sæla* = Skr. *sáriká*); in the last example the *i* which gave rise to the *umlaut* has since disappeared, as it was removed by contraction in *lé* = *lôhita* and the example quoted by Childers *ká* = *kháyita*, √*khád*.

A large number of remarkable vowel changes are closely connected with certain consonantial mutations. An *l*, which has been produced from a cerebral or a dental, appears to have often changed a neighbouring *a* into *o*: *ekolaha*, *dolaha*, *pahaloha* = *ekádasa*, *drádasa*, *pañchadasa*; *polova* = *pathavî* or *pathavî*; *molova*, brain, perhaps = **mattha*, Skr. **masta*, in the sense of Skr. *mastishka* and *mastuluṅga* = Pali *matthaluṅga*. Instead of *ṣa* in Sanskrit tatsamas we find *sâ* (Clough's *Singhalese and English Dictionary*, p. 686). Of the change of consonant produced by the dropping of vowels we shall have more to say further on.

The subject of the non-radical terminal vowels will render necessary in the future a more searching examination. In the oldest inscriptions the well-known peculiarly Magadhic nominative of the masculine and neuter in *e* appears to be pretty common (Goldschmidt's *Report on Inscriptions*, &c. 1876, p. 3); in Elu the *u* which recalls the Prakrit *o* is much more frequent than in the modern language, which appears to make use more of the *a*. Of various exceptions, like *kiri* = *khâra*, *dana* = *jânu*, *væsi* = *vassa*, and many others, there is no lack. In the last part of a compound the non-radical terminal *a* is mostly dropped (Childers, *Journ. of the R. As. Soc. N. S.* VII, pp. 45, 47); many forms of originally dissyllabic words contracted in this manner may then have been also employed independently, and would thus have not immaterially increased the number of monosyllables, especially numerous in Elu (*vide supra* p. 13). We have already spoken above of the lengthening of non-radical terminal *a* and *i* in words denoting animate being.

In regard to the constitution of the consonant system the want of aspirates and the incompleteness of the palatal series are peculiarities which strike one immediately.

The representation of the former, whether in tenues or mediae aspiratae, by the corresponding unaspirated consonants is the rule; besides this we have the separation of the aspiration from the more permanent consonantal element, and transition into simple *h*. The former was a special peculiarity of the Elu, and is sufficiently supported in § 22 of the *Sidat Saṅgarā* by such characteristic

examples as *sædæhæ*, also *sædê*, = *saddhā* (Skr. *ṣaddhā*), *saḷaham*, also *sadam*, = *saddhamma*, &c. The latter is clearly proved in the case of the popular speech by such a form as *bihirā* = *badhira*, Mald. *bīru* (Ch.); for this reason also *luhu* = *laghu* (also *luhuñḍu*) may with justice claim the privilege of nationality over the less disfigured *lagu*.

With the loss of the aspiration may well be classed the dropping of the *h* in nasal combinations: *bamunu* from the Prakrit form *bamhaṇa* for Skr. and Pali *brāhmaṇa* (Hemachandra I, 67; II, 74; cf. E. Kuhn, *Beitr. zur Pāli-Gramm.* p. 5 f.); *gim* = *gimha* (Elu—in the modern language completely supplanted by the tatsamas from the Skr. and Pali *grīshma-ya* and *gimhāna-ya*); *unu*, hot, = *uṇha*, Mald. *hūnu*; in the same manner *vh* to *v*: *diva* = *jivha*. Besides forms are freely found like *baṃba* for the name of the god *Brahmā* and the Pali adjective *brahma* (E. Kuhn, *loc. cit.* p. 18) on the one hand, and the derived *unuh-um*, *unuh-uma*, heat, on the other, which however appear to belong more to the literary dialect.

As to the palatal series, *c* and naturally *ch* appear only in later loan words. Their ordinary substitute in pure Sinhalese words is *s*, which like the other *s* is subject to the change into *h*: *isinavá*, *ihinavá*, from **hisinavá*, \surd *sich* (Childers, *Journ. of the R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. VIII, p. 147); *pisanavá*, *pihanavá*, \surd *pach*; *saka*, *haka*, = *chakka*; *siṃbinavá*, \surd *chumb*; *gasa*, *gaha*, tree, pl. *gas*, = *gachchha*; *gos*, *gohin*, *gihin*, to pres. *gachchhati*; *siṅḍinavá*, \surd *chhid*, pres. *chhindati*; &c. Moreover, compensation is found in *ḍ*, which—in view of

Sinhalese *d* for *j*, to be mentioned immediately—presupposes a transition into the media: *mudana-vavá*, √*much*; *da* = *cha* (Alwis, *SS.* p. liv); *yadinavá*, √*yách*; *æduru* = *áchariya* (*N.* v. 178, 278), which the Mald. *aydru* (P.), *eduru* (Ch.), shows to be a popular form. The retention of the media *j* amongst the Sinhalese vocables in opposition to this universal rejection of the palatal terms is extremely curious. It is true that *j* is found in the older inscriptions, but almost every really native word, as *diva* = *jivhá*; *dana* = *jánu*, *dinanavá*, √*ji*, pres. *jináti*; *dunudiya* = *dhanujiyá*: *vidinavá*, √*vyadh*, pres. *vijjhati*, has *d* for *j*. Forms like the proper name *Bujas* = *Buddhadása*, or *vajeriya*, which E. Müller (*Report on Inscriptions, &c.* 1878, p. 6) following Goldschmidt rightly derives from *vadáranavá*, are correctly explained by the fact that original *j* was represented chiefly by *d* and was first restored anew as *j* by the gradual acquisition of later tatsamas: indeed, in the striving after exaggerated elegance of speech it would sometimes be appropriated in cases where *d* alone could be correct, just as the low Germans, when they wish to speak high German, substitute a *Treppe* for *Treppe*. Words with *j* = Skr. and Pali *j* must also be considered as more or less remodelled tatsamas, and the *rada*, *radu*, of the Elu is indeed earlier than the *raja* = *rájá* of most of the inscriptions, as the analogous *rad*, fem. *rædna*, of the inscriptions (Goldschmidt, *Report on Inscriptions, &c.* 1876, p. 10) and the *mahá radung* = *mahárája* in the title of the Sultan of the Maldives (*Journ. of the R. As. Soc.* vol. VI, p. 73) amply testify.

Of the cerebrals t and d alone appear to maintain inflexibly their peculiar character, η on the other hand being in modern conversation as little distinguished from n as ḷ from l (*Singhalese Grammar*, Cotta, 1825, p. 4; Carter, *Singhalese Lesson Book*, Colombo, 1873, p. 8 f.). The Maldivian has distinct characters for η and ḷ , and also distinguishes l and ḷ in conversation with great clearness; modern Sinhalese authors regulate the use of them in writing almost entirely by etymology. Moreover, l is in many cases to be traced back to older cerebrals or dental explosives: *kili* = *kutī*, *pili* = *pati*; for other examples, see above, pp. 17, 18.

The nasals require a succinct investigation. And here in the first place we must mention as a special peculiarity a weak nasal sound before the explosives of all four classes, which, following the example of Childers, we represent by \check{n} before gutturals, cerebrals, and dentals, and by \check{m} before labials, and for further information respecting which Rask, *Singhalesisk Skriftlære* § 19; *Singhalese Grammar*, Cotta, 1825, p. 6; Alwis, *SS.* p. liv, lxi. f. 145-149 *passim*; Alwis, *Descriptive Catalogue of Literary Works of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1870, p. 235 f., may be consulted. Unfortunately all these authorities give little information as to the exact articulation, but we may infer from the plurals *aṃ*, *liṃ*, derived from *aṅga*, *liṅga*, by Childers (*Journ. of the R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. VII, p. 45), that it is closely related to the anusvâra, *i. e.*, to the nasal vowel. In fact, this weak nasal sound takes the place of the original consonantal nasal before explosive sounds, exactly in the same manner as the anusvâra of the modern Aryan

languages of the Continent (Kellogg, *Gramm. of the Hindi Language*, § 14; Beames, *Comp. Gramm.* vol. I, p. 296 f.). This explains the want, on which Alwis lays such particular stress, of a guttural nasal, which indeed is always conditional on a following guttural. The independent nasal palatal of the Prakrit becomes dental *n*: *panaha* = *paññāsa* (Skr. *pañchāśat*), *ncē* = *ñāti*; of those due to a following palatal the typical examples are *kasun* = *kañchana*, *añdun* (Elu) = *añjana*. Further weakenings of the nasal element leads to entire loss: *mas* = *maṁsa*, *vas* = *vaṁsa*, *mæḍiyā* = *maṇḍūka*, *sapayanavā* from *sampādayati* (Childers, *Journ. R. As. Soc. N. S.* vol. VIII, p. 145), *sætapenavā*, to rest, sleep (in respectful language)—according to Goldschmidt from *sam* + *tapp* = Skr. *tarp*; particularly in Elu: *ak* = *aṅka* (*N. v.* 39), *laka* = *laṅkā*, *lakara* (*N. v.* 168) = *alaṅkāra*, *yatura* = Skr. *yantra*, and many more: we find also in the older inscriptions *saga* used throughout for *saṅgha* (Rhys Davids, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, p. 140). The reverse of this in the nasalization of *añdunanavā* from pres. *ājānāti* (Childers, *Journ. R. As. Soc. N. S.* vol. VIII, p. 145) is remarkable, while by an opposite process the nasal has been strengthened by an explosive in *vañdurā* = *vānara*, *kiñdurā* = *kinnara*, &c. It is also to be noticed that through phonetic strengthening a combination *nd* was developed at a later period from *ñd*; for example, from the old singular *hæñdi* (with short first syllable?—see Alwis, *SS.* p. cxx), which is now used as plural, a new singular form *hænda* (with first syllable long from position) has sprung, and both stand in the

same relation as *dunu* pl. to *dunna* sg. (see *Singhalese Grammar*, Cotta, 1825, p. 9; Childers, *Journ. R. As. Soc. N. S.* vol. VII., p. 46 f.).

The old *h* seems to have originally completely dropped off: *ata* = *hattha* and *atá* = **hatthika*, *aran* past pret. (strictly pres.) act. from \sqrt{hri} (Childers, *Journ. R. A. Soc. N. S.* vol. VIII, p. 150); with a hiatus-destroying semivowel; *geya* = *geha*, *dovinavá* from \sqrt{duh} , pres. *dohati*. In the oldest inscriptions two characters are found for the sibilant (Rhys Davids, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, p. 140; Goldschmidt, *Report on Inscriptions, &c.*, 1876, p. 4); as however these interchange arbitrarily they soon became as at present a single letter in place of the Skr. *ś*, *sh*, *s*. Besides *s* interchanges often with *h* (Alwis, *SS.* § 22), and may like the latter be completely lost: *aṅga* with the Elu forms *saṅgu*, *haṅgu*, = **saṅga*, Skr. *śringa*; *isinará* \sqrt{sich} ; *hisa*, *isa*, *iha*, = *sisa*, Skr. *śirsha*; but *minihá* = *manussa*, pl. *minissu*, and similarly *gasa*, *gaha*, tree, = *gachchha*, pl. *gas* (cf. *Singhalese Grammar*, Cotta, 1825, p. 5, 8 f.).

There remain some more phonetic peculiarities, which could not be directly included in the review of the phonetic system.

Double consonants appear to be originally as foreign to the language as long vowels. The double consonance of the Prâkrit, including the combinations of tenuis and media with their aspirates, is usually replaced by the simple consonants. Actual gemination is to be explained in most instances either by letter borrowing or as in the case of the plural forms already cited by special grammatical processes. Original simple

explosives between vowels are on the other hand in the generality of cases dropped,¹⁸ and are replaced by the hiatus-destroying *y*, *v*, whereby a contiguous *a* is exposed to the transition into *i* and *u*; a further step in the vowel change is not infrequently the contraction referred to above: *muva* = *mukha*, *lova* = *loka*, *liyanavá*, ✓ *likh*, *kevíli*, *kevillá*, and **kovulu*, *kovullá*, = *kokili*, *nayá* = *nága*, *avuva* = *átapa*, *nuwara* = *nagara*, with the derived *niyari*, towns, *siyalu* = *sakala siyuru* (Elu) = *chakora*, *giya* = *gata*, *riya* = *ratha*, *kiyanavá* to *kathayati*, *niyuru* = *madhura*, with *mihi* = *madhu* (cf. above p. 20) and thence *mí* in *mí-mæssá* (bee, lit. honey-fly), *mí-pæni* (honey, lit. honey-water). So also the *-ya*, *-va*, characterizing the later tatsamas—*samudra-ya*, *vastru-va*—originally arose from *-ka*, cf. *taruva* = *táaraká*, &c.; in the same manner also are to be explained many old tadbhavas like *oṭuvá* = *oṭṭha-ka*, *hává* for **hahavá* = *sasa-ka*, *váya*, axe, = **vási-ká* for *vási*. As opposed to the dropping of *h* referred to above, it is noteworthy that in cases like *ahasa* = *ákása*, *bæhæná*, *bæná*, = *bhágineyya*, *h* also appears as a hiatus-destroyer.

In analogous manner the substitution of *v* for radical *p* is to be explained, in case the transition of *p* into *b* and of *b* into *v* is not preferred;

¹⁸ That this dropping must have belonged to the Prákrit dialect which lies at its basis does not on account of the early period of its introduction into Ceylon, seem to me quite probable. The occurrence of a word like *bati* in the oldest inscription, supposing that it really means brother (vide E. Müller, *Report on Inscriptions*, &c. 1878, p. 3), would also decide against it.

cf. *tabanavá* to **thapayati*, Pali *ṭhapeti*; *kasabuvā* = *kachchhapa-ka*; *bonavá*, part. pret. act. *bí*, to \surd *pá*; *venavá*; old part. pres. act. *vú*, to \surd *bhú*; possibly also *vadanavá*, if this is connected with *pajā*, *pajāyate*, and *vātenavá*, if with Goldschmidt in opposition to Childers (*Journ. R. A. Soc. N. S.* vol. VIII, p. 148) we venture to trace it to \surd *pat* (on *ṭ* for *t*, cf. Hindi *paḍná* &c. Beames, *Comp. Gramm.* vol. I, p. 225). The opposite to this transition of the tenuis into the media is seen in **kurulu*, *kurullá*, which has been rightly identified by Goldschmidt with *garuḍa* (other examples of *k* for *g* in E. Müller, *Report on Inscriptions*, &c. 1878, p. 6).

Finally the not infrequent metathesis is to be noted: *mahaná* = *samaṇa*, *muhuda* for **hamuda* = *samudda* (cf. Alwis, *SS.* § 14).

Into the disturbing operations which are the cause of a number of coincident phonetic laws we cannot enter further in this short sketch.

There follow now a number of Sinhalese substantives, arranged in natural order, whose Aryan etymology does not readily yield to the developed principles of well-matured inquiry. In considering these we shall make use of the list of words of the modern tongue in S. Lambrick's *Vocabulary of the Singhalese Language*, Fourth Edition, Cotta, 1840 (L.), as compared with B. Clough's *Dictionary of the English and Singhalese, and Singhalese and English Languages*, Two Volumes, Colombo, 1821-1830 (C.). For the Elu, besides the *Námá-valiya* (*N.*, see above p. 12), W. C. Macready's Glossary to his edition of the *Sælalihini Sandesaya* (MR.) has been utilized. The Maldivian words I give as far as possible in their original

spelling according to Pyrard (P.) and Christopher (Ch.)¹⁹

Living existence in general: *satá* = *sattá*, Skr. *sattva*.

Man: *minihá* = *manussa*, pl. *minissu*; Mald. with greater contraction *mihung* (Ch.), in P. *miou*, "personne." The words for man, manly: *pirimiyá*, Mald. *pyrienne* (P.), *firihnung* (Ch.), are closely related to *purisa*, as proved by the Mald. *piris* (P.), *frimíha* (Ch.), husband, and Elu *pirisa*, "a train, retinue." For women the modern language has not infrequently according to Rhys Davids (*Transactions of the Philol. Soc.* 1875-6, Part I, p. 74) the little altered tatsama *istrá* (in Elu modelled into *itiri*, *N. v.* 151), by the side of the more usual *gáni*, which must be derived from **gahiná* = Skr. *grhiná* (on the forms of the Pali and Prakrit cf. E. Kuhn, *Beitr. zur Páli-Gramm.* p. 16); Mald. *anghaine* (P.), *anghenung* (Ch.), is clearly identical with *aṅganá* (cf. *aṅgana N. v.* 151).

Among terms of relationship we meet with some which like *appá* for father and *ammá* for mother recal the Dravidian, but possibly are only borrowed from languages of this family; besides these there are good Aryan words in living use. A relation in general is *ná* = *ñáti*, besides the further developed *náyá*, with which is to be connected perhaps also *néná*, female cousin, cousin german. For father and mother the

¹⁹ I have replaced the italics with which Ch. represents the cerebrals by the transliteration now commonly adopted. It is far from my present purpose to go further into the phonetic relations of the Maldivian: I only remark of it that Ch. has replaced the old *p* throughout by *f*.

Aryan terms are *piyá* = *pitá*, and *mavu*, *mar*, Elu *mava*, = *mátá*. For son and daughter we have *putá* = *putta* and *duva*, *dá*, = *duhitá* (cf. Mald. *mapoutte*, "mon fils," and *mandié*, "ma fille," in P., *futu*, "boy," in Ch.). A more general word for child is *daruvá* = *dárala* (Mald. *dary* P., *daring* Ch.) For brother and sister the modern speech simply (without difference of age) knows of the tatsamas *sahódara-yá* and *sahódarí*; the *bé*, brother, quoted by Rhys Davids (*Journ. R. As. Soc. N. S.* vol. VII, p. 366), goes back to the *bati* of the inscriptions, and is identical with the Mald. *bé* (*bee* P., *bébe* Ch.) for elder brother. *Bæhæná*, *bœnâ*, nephew (said to be originally also elder brother: cf. Rhys Davids *loc. cit.*), is from *bhâgineyya*. To *nunuburá*, grandson, with the fem. *minibirí*, we find neither in Skr. nor in Pali or Prakrit anything exactly corresponding, but it is identified by P. Goldschmidt (*Report on Inscriptions, &c.* 1876, p. 4) with the *manumaraka* of the inscriptions, and, by a comparison with the well-known example of *nandana*, son, is derived by him from *manorama*, which is certainly not absolutely impossible. For father-in-law and mother-in-law the Mald. has according to Pymar *hours* and *housse*, which are of course identical with Pali *sasura* and *sassú*. The modern Sinhalese employs *mámá* and *nændá* (older *nœñdi*), also *nœdi*, which signify strictly avunculus and amita; *nændá* is, like Skr. *nanândr* = Pali *nanandá*, to be traced to \surd *nand*. The Elu has besides *nœñdi* the word *suhul*, related to *sassura*, *sassú*, and for father-in-law, with the like transference of meaning, *mayil* beside the tatsama *mátula* (*N.* v. 154); cf. *nœdimayilá* as the

explanation of the plural *sasurā* in Subhūti, *Abhidhānappadīpikā* v. 250. For son-in-law Pyrard gives *damy*, which is manifestly to be identified with *jāmātā*.

Castes, classes, &c.—We have already spoken of the terms for king, *raja*, *rada*, = *rājā*. Besides we have *radala* (“gentleman,” L., “husband,” “headman,” “chief,” C.), and its contraction *rāla* (“yeoman,” L., “husband,” “master,” “lord,” “a term affixed to names or titles, implying respect,” C.), which appear to be connected. *Biso*, *bisava*, queen, is according to Clough to be derived from *abhiseka*. The oft-recurring *ōpā* of the inscriptions as a designation of a high officer of state is from *adhipa* (*vide* Rhys Davids, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, p. 248; *Journ. R. A. Soc. N. S.* vol. VII, p. 365). *Kaṁburā*, smith (“iron-smith”), = Pali *kammāra*, and is used to explain this word by Subhūti in *Abhidh.* v. 509. *Kuṁbalā*, potter, = *kumbhakāra*, and similarly *sommaru* tanner, doubtless assimilated from the Elu *samvaru* with *samkaru* = *chammakāra*, cf. Hindi *chamār*; in *lōkuruvā*, smith (brazier, L., N.), = *lohakāraka*, which as a compound is much more intelligible, *k* has been preserved. *Radavā*, washerman, = *rajaka*. *Vaḍuvā*, carpenter, = *vaddhaki*. *Vedā*, doctor, = *vejja*, Skr. *vaidya*. *Væddā* (olāer *vædi*) = *vyādha* (Childers, *Journ. of the R. As. Soc. N. S.* VIII, p. 131). *Horā*, thief = *cora*. *Ædurru*, teacher, = *ācariya*, *māhanā* = *samaṇa*, *bamunu* to Skr. and Pali *brāhmaṇa*, have already been mentioned above.

On *mit*, *miturā*, *mītra-yā*, friend, see *ante* p. 15. The word is the same in Mald., as is seen from

demitourou, "compagnons" P. (i. e., *de mitourou*, two friends), and *rahumaiteri*, "friend," (Ch.); another popular word is *yahalu-vá*, *yálu-vá*, in Elu (*N. v.* 189) without diminutive ending *yahala*, *yahalu*, which may be a somewhat irregular form of a theme identical with Páli *sakhára*.²⁰ For enemy the little altered tatsama *saturá* = Skr. *çatru* is in use.

The words of Aryan origin for animals are tolerably numerous. Among cattle we have first *goná*, bull, ox, = *goṇa*, and with the same meaning *geriyá* (cf. Mald. *guery* P., *geri* Ch. ox), a diminutive of Hindi *gorú* and its allies, which like *goṇa* itself are, as Pischel says (Bezzenberger's *Beiträgenz. Kunde der indogerm. Sprachen*, III, p. 237), to be derived from a root *gur*. *Vassá*, calf, older *vasu*, is of course = *vachchha*, Skr. *vatsa*. On *dena* = *dhenu*, which figures directly as a feminine suffix, Childers (*Journ. R. A. Soc. N. S.* vol. VIII, p. 144) may be consulted. The monosyllable *mí* in the compounds *mí-haraka* (Mald. *mígunu*, Ch.), buffalo, and *mí-dena*, buffalo cow, is, as Childers has already rightly stated, to be identified with *māhisa*; the Elu has besides a fuller *mivu*, which however may also possibly be identical with the diminutive amplified modern *mí-vá*. *Eluvá*, sheep, goat, = *elaka*. *Úrá*, pig (Mald. *oure* P. *úru* Ch.), for **hūrā*, = *sūkara*. *Otuvá*, camel (cf. Mald. *ol*, P. *óg*, Ch. with the peculiar final *g* sound), = *otthaka*. For horse the Skr. tatsama *asvayá*, *aspayá*, is now-a-days used; the popular form is in Elu *as* (Mald. *asse*, P. *as*, Ch.) and is retained in the com-

²⁰ The forms *sakhi* and *sakhá* answer to the Elu words *saki* and *saha* given in *loc. cit.*

pound *asvælembá*, mare, the second part of which Childers rightly traces to *vaḍavá*. *Balala*, cat (Mald. *boulau*, P. *bulau*, Ch.), = *biḷála*. *Míyá* rat, = *músika*. *Ætá*, elephant, = **hatthika* (cf. above p. 18), fem. *ætinná* from older *ætini*; we also find *aliyá* with noteworthy *a* (Mald. however *el* P., *eg.* Ch., beside *mátang* = *mátanga*), which is possibly also derived from **hatthika*. Of the terms for ravening beast the Skr. tatsamas *simha-yá* (also Mald. *siṅga* P.) and *vyághra-yá* have entirely superseded the popular appellations; for the latter a form more consonant with the original phonetic rules is the Elu *vaga*, which is clearly established by the Mald. *vagou* (P.), "leopard"; another word for panther, leopard, is *diviyá*, Elu *divi*, = *dípí*, Skr. *dvípin*. *Valaha*, *valasa*, bear, has been aptly explained by Childers (*Journ. R. A. Soc. N. S.* vol. VIII, p. 144) as a compound of *vana* + *accha* = Skr. *riksha*, thus literally forest bear. The jackal is called *int. al. hivalá* = *sigála* (Mald. *hiyaḷu* Ch.); with this is perhaps connected *kænahil* (*N.* v. 141) or *kænahilá* (*Subhâti, Abhidh.* v. 615). The two varieties of apes indigenous to Ceylon are distinguished by the obscure *rilavá* and by *vañdurá* = *vânara*. For the deer and antelope family we have *muvá* = *miga* and *góná*, a very contracted form of *gokaṇṇa*. Hare: *hává* = *sasa-ka*.

Birds in general, *kurullá*, older **kurulu*, = *garudá* (see above p. 26); the mythical bird king is called in Elu *gurulu* (*N.* v. 14). Cock: *kukulá* = *kuk-kuta*, fem. *kikilá*; in Mald. we find *coucoulou* (P., *kukulu* (Ch.), curiously enough for the fem., while for the masc. a puzzling *aule* (P.), *hau* (Ch.), is used. *Monará*, peacock, may be connected in some

way with *mora* = Skr. *mayūra*; for the Mald. Ch. gives *nimeri*. Dove: *paraviyá* = Skr. *párāvata*, Pali *párápata*. From *kokila* come *kovullá*, older **kovulu*, and *kevillá*, older *kevili* (cf. Mald. *koweli*), fem. *kevillá*. The word for parrot, *giravá*, Mald. *gouray* (P.), may be an irregular form of *kíra-ka*. From *kaputá*, *kapuṭuvá*, crow, also *kavudá*, *kavudu-vá*, with which perhaps Mald. *caule* (P.), *kaḷu* (Ch.), is to be connected, we might perhaps, taking *bali-pushta*, *balibhuj*, as a parallel case, draw the inference of the existence of a somewhat irregular *ka-pushta*(*ka*). Hawk: *ukussá*, older **ukusu*, still further contracted to *ussá*, = *ukkusa*, Skr. *utkrośa*. That the old *haṁsa* was transferred to the Sinhalese as **asa* is clearly enough proved by the Elu *hasa*, Mald. *rádaas*, goose (Ch.), = Elu *radahasa* (N. v. 144), and Mald. *asduni*, duck, Ch. (compounded with *donny* P., *dúni* Ch., bird). For *koká*, crane, the phonetic equivalent is Skr. *koka*, which indeed means a bird of the duck or goose family.

From D. H. Pereira's treatise on the snakes of Ceylon in the *Ceylon Friend* (see ser. II, p. 81 ff), it seems that *nayá* and *polaṅgá* are the common terms for cobra and viper respectively. The former is clearly = *nága*. In the latter I conjecture the Skr. *paṭaṅga*, Pali *paṭaṅga* or *paṭaṅga*, with special modification of meaning (with respect to the phonetic relations cf. *supra* p. 18, and the word to be noticed soon, *polaṅgæṭiyá*): the word in itself means only an animal darting hither and thither with great swiftness.²¹ The female cobra

²¹ According to Subhūti in *Abhidh.* v. 651 it meant the same as *tilichchha* in Pali; therefore the latter may be traced to the Skr. *tiraścha* and the Skr. form *tilitsa* may rest upon a mistaken Sanskritization.

is now called, according to Pereira (*loc. cit.* p. 85, 86) *hæpinna*, in Elu *sæpini*, = *sappinî*; the tatsama *sarpa-yâ* is also found as *harufa* (Ch.) in Mald. For other reptiles I only mention *kiṃbulá*, alligator, = *kumbhîla* (with evident metathesis of the vowels), *goyá*, iguana, = *godhá*, *mæḍiyá*, frog, = *mandúka*, and *kæsbá*, *kasubuvá*, tortoise, = *ka-chchhapa(ka)* (Mald. *kahabu* Ch.).

Fish was originally *mas* = *machchha*, as the Elu *mas* (*N. v.* 83), Mald. *masse* (P.), *mas* (Ch.), show; to avoid confusion with *mas*, flesh, the modern language makes use of the Sanskrit tatsama *matsya-yâ*; there is also a more elaborated word *málu* from **mahalu* = **machchhala* (cf. Hindi *machhlî*).

Of other animals we may also mention *kakuluvá*, crab, = *kakkataka*. For spider we have *makuluvá* = *makkataka* and *makuna* = **makkuna* or Pâli *maṅkuna*, Skr. *matkuna* (Mald. *makunu* Ch.). *Ukuná* and *ikinî*, louse, to Pali *úka*, Skr. *yúka*; cf. Childers *Journ. of the R. As. Soc.* N. S. VIII, p. 143. *Polaṅgæṭiyá*, grasshopper, is undoubtedly connected with Pali *paṭaṅga*, Skr. *paṭaṅga*; the last part is however not clear to me. *Baṃbará*, wasp, = *bhamara*. *Massá*, fly, older **mæsi*, **mæhi* (Mald. *mehi* Ch.), with its compound *mi-mæssá*, honey-fly, *i. e.* bee, may be connected either with **machchhiká* for Pali *makkhiká*, Skr. *makshiká*, or with Skr. *maśaka*, Pali *makasa*.

The names of parts of the body yield an important contingent of Aryan words. Head is *iha*, *isa*, Elu *hisa* (*N. v.* 199, MR.), = *sîsa*; I do not know how to treat *oluva*, which is also in use, any more than I do Mald. *bolle* (P.), *bó* (Ch.).

Skull: *kabala* = *kapāla*. For the hair of the head L. gives *iské*, in which *ké* for **keha* = *kesa*. From *mukha* (= Elu *muva*) comes *má-na*, face, Elu *muhu-nu* (Mald. *múnu*). *Nalala*, forehead, = *nalāta* Skr. *lalāta* (Mald. *ná* Ch. ?): cf. Pischel's *Hemachandra* 147. For eye *æsa* = *achchhi-ka* (cf. *supra* p. 19) is the popular word, Mald. in *esfiya* (Ch.), eyelid, = Sinh. *æspihātta*; Mald. *lols* (P.), *ló* (Ch.), is to be connected with \surd *loch*, *lochana*. Brow: *bæma* = *bhamuka* (Mald. *bouman* P., *buma* Ch.). Ear. *kana* = *kaṇṇa* (Mald. *campat* P., *kangfañ* Ch., strictly ear-hole, ear-cavity). That the Elu for nose *næhæ* = *nāsikā* is the genuine Sinhalese word may be inferred from the allied Mald. *nepat* (P.), *néfañ* (Ch.) (cf. Sinh. *nāspuṭaya*, *nāspuḍuvá*, nostril ?); new Sinh. *nāhe*, *nāse*, is nothing but the tatsama *nāsa-ya*. Tooth: *data* = *danta* (Mald. *dat* P., *dañ* Ch.). Tongue: *diva* = *jivhā* (Mald. *douls* P., *dú* Ch. ?). An interesting word is *ugura* for throat, which in contrast with the Skr.-Pali *gala* presupposes a form with *r*: Prakr. **uggura* or **uggara* from *ava* + \surd *gar* (in Mald. *karu* Ch. the old prefix may possibly have fallen off at a later period). Arm and hand: *ata* = *hattha* (Mald. *at* P., *añtila* Ch.). Fist: *miṭa* = *mutthika* (cf. *supra* p. 18). Finger: *æñgilla*, older *æñgili* (*N. v.* 163), = *aṅguli* (Mald. *inguly* P., *agili* Ch.). Nail: *niya* = *nakha*, new Sinh. usually *niyapotta* = Mald. *niapaty* P., *nifati* Ch. (is the second part of the compound *potta*, husk, scale ?). Back: *piṭa* = *piṭṭha*. The Elu *kañda*, shoulder (*N. v.* 162), = *khandha*, Skr. *skandha*, receives a welcome confirmation in the Mald. *condou* (P.), *koḍu* (Ch.). Foot, leg: *paya* = *pāda*, in Elu also contracted

to *pá* (N. v. 158) (Mald. *paé* P., *fá*, “leg, *fiyolu*, “foot,” Ch.). Knee: *dana* = *jánu*; the Mald. uses *cacoulou* (P.), *kaku* (Ch.), for this, whilst in Sinh. *kakula* is synonymous with *paya*.

Of parts of the body peculiar to beasts I only mention *aṅga*, Elu *saṅgu*, *haṅgu*, = **saṅga*, Skr. *śṛiṅga* (Ch. has for this *tung*, which may be derived from the well-known adjective *tuṅga*, high), and *naguta*, or with true Sinh. hardening *nakuta*, as one of the common words for tail = Pali *naṅgutṭha* as compared with Skr. *laṅgúla*. Skin, leather: *hama*, *sama*, = *camma* (Mald. *ans* P., *hang* Ch.). Flesh: *mas* = *maṁsa* (Mald. the same Ch.). Bone: *ætaya* to *atthi*, Skr. *asthi*; *ætā-mola*, marrow. Muscle, sinew: *naharaya* to Pali *nahāru*, Skr. *snāyu* (Mald. *nare* P., *ndru* Ch.). Brain: *mola*, no doubt going back to an old **mattha*, **masta* (cf. *supra* p. 18). Heart, *hada* to *hadaya*, Skr. *hṛd*, *hṛdaya*; in Elu also *hida* (N. v. 161) (Mald. *il* P., *hing* Ch.?). Blood: *lé* = *lohita* (Mald. *lets* P., *le* Ch.). Tears: *kaṅdulu* to *√kand*, Skr. *krand* in the sense of weep. Milk: *kiri* = *khīra*, Skr. *kshīra* (Mald. *kiru* Ch.).

In the two terms *gaha*, *gasa*, = *gachchha* (Mald. *gats* P., *gas* Ch.), and *væla* = *valliká* (cf. *supra* p. 19), the whole vegetable kingdom is according to L. included. Root: *mula* = *mūla* (Mald. *mou* P.). Stem: *kaṅda* = *khandha*, Skr. *skandha* (Mald. *tandi* Ch.?). *Atta*, branch, with its double *t* may be differentiated from *ata*, hand. For small twigs *ipala* is *int. al.* used, which may have been derived from *uppala* = Skr. *utpala* and then have acquired a more general meaning of this word. Leaf: *pata* = *patta*, Skr. *pattra* (Mald. *faṣ* Ch.); the popular use of *pan* or *paṁ* = *pañña* is shown by *pansala*

or *pañsala*, leaf hut, ascetic's abode, and Mald. *pan* (P.). Flower: *mala* = *málá* (Mald. *maoë* P., *mau* Ch.). *mada*, kernel, inside of a fruit, may be derived from *majjha* (cf. Skr. *madhyamá* for the seed capsule of the lotus flower). I shall not at present enter further into the names of particular plants, though there is here no lack of Aryan terms like *vá*, rice, = *váhi*; *miris*, pepper, = *marica* (Mald. *mirus* Ch.); *lúnu*, onion, garlic, from *luhunu* (cf. Subhúti in *Abhidh.* v. 595), = *lasuna* (Mald. in *lonumedu* Ch., garlic).

World: *lova* = *loka*, in Elu often contracted to *ló* (cf. the Index to *N.* and *MR.* p. 75). Heaven: *ahasa* = *ákása*. Sun: *ira*, *iru*, in Elu also *hiru* (*MR.* p. 100), *hiri* (*N.* v. 280), = *suriya* (Mald. *yrous* P., *iru* Ch.); sunshine *avuva* = *átapa*. Moon: *hañda*, *sañda*, = *canda* (Mald. *haḍu* Ch.; as regards the phonetic relation cf. Mald. *condou*, *koḍu*, = Sinh. *kanda*, see *supra* p. 34). Star: *taruva* = *táaraká* (Mald. *tary* P., *tari* Ch.). Ray: *ræsa*, generally pl. *ræs*, to Skr. *raśmi*, Pali *rañsi*, *rasmi*. *Eliya*, light, brightness, is, according to Childers (*Journ. R. A. Soc.* N. S. vol. VIII, p. 145), together with the tatsama *álóka-ya* having the same meaning, to be connected with Skr.-Pali *áloka* (Mald. *aly*, P. *ali* Ch.). Darkness, obscurity: *añdura* (Mald. *endiry* P., *andiri* Ch.) doubtless = *andhakára*; cf. also Prakr. *añdhala*, Maráṭhî *añdhalá*, Pischel in Hemacandra II, 173, and the Hindi forms *andhalá*, *andhárá*, &c., in Bate's *Dictionary of the Hindi Language*, p. 22.

Rain: *vassa*, older *væsi* (*N.* v. 34), from *vassa*, Skr. *varsha*; Mald. *varé* (P.), *wáre* (Ch.), belong probably rather to *vári*, water. The old word for

lightning must be retained in the Elu *vidu* (*N. v.* 34), Mald. *vidi* P. (*widani* Ch.). For the only word at present in use, as it appears, viz., *viduliya*, is according to Clough's explanation *s. v.* = Skr. *vidyullatá* or more correctly = Pali *vijjullatá*, consequently probably a word belonging originally to the poetic dialect, and which at any rate has no closer connection with Prakr. *vijjulá* and its new Indian cognates like *bijlá*, &c. (cf. Pischel in Hemacandra I, 15, Bate, *loc. cit.* p. 521). *Giguruma*, also *giguru*, *gigiru*, *gigiri*, thunder (Mald. *gougou-rou* P., *guguri* Ch.), belongs to the \sqrt{gur} , mentioned by Pischel in the *Beitr. z. Kunde d. indo-germ. Spr.* III, p. 237; cf. the Sinh. verb. *guguranavá* and *goravanavá*, to thunder. Rainbow: *dedunna* = *devadhanu* (but Mald. *wáredúni* in Ch.).

Fire: *ginna*, elder *gini* (*N. v.* 22), = *gini*; also connected *gindara*, originally perhaps fire-pose-
 sessor or the like, so that the second part would be derived from \sqrt{dhar} (cf. also *gedara* with *gé*, house).

The current words for water are *diya* = *daka* for *udaka* (Mald. *diya*, "juice or sap," Ch.), *pæni* = *pániya* (Mald. *penne* P., *feng* Ch.), and *vatura*, whose Aryan origin appears to me by no means impossible, in spite of an etymology being still wanting. Bubble: *bubula* = *bubbula*. Foam: *pena* = *pheṇa*. Sea: *múda*, *muhuda*, for **hamuda* = *samudda* (Mald. entirely different *candoue* P., *kaḍu* Ch.). Here the following marine products naturally arrange themselves:—*hak*, *sak*, *chhank*, = *saṅkha*; *mutu*, pearl, = *muttá*; *pabalu*, *pavalu*, coral, = Pali *pavála*, Skr. *prabála*. Lake and pond *væva*, in inscriptions *vaviya* = *vápiká* (Mald. *weu*

Ch.), and *pokuna*, in inscriptions *pukana*, to *pokkharinī*, Skr. *pushkarinī* (E. Müller, *Report on Inscriptions, &c.*, 1879, pp. 5-6). That *gaṅga* is the common appellation for river is in the highest degree characteristic, and Kiepert has rightly given prominence to it, *loc. cit. supra*, 7. For smaller rivers and streams I find *oya*, which in spite of Elu *hoya* (MR.), *hō* (N. v. 88 pond, 90 river), I would identify with *ogha*.

Earth, ground, land: *bima* = *bhumikā* (Mald. *bin* P., *bing* Ch., = Elu *bim*, N. v. 35), and *polava* related to *pathavī*, *pathavī*. Island was originally *diva*, as the name *Maldiva*, &c., and Elu *divu* (N. v. 282) show clearly enough; the modern language appears to prefer the longer *divayina*, and I find also noted *duva*, *dūva*. For mountain, hill, the authorities give besides *kaṇḍa* more especially *hela*, *sel*, = *sela*, Skr. *śaila*; Skr. *parvata* (modern tatsama *parvata-ya*) appears (N. v. 107) as *paruvata* (Mald. *farubada* Ch.), Pali *pabbata* (in the same place) as *pavu*. Sand: *væla* = *vālukā*, *vālikā* (Mald. *vely* P., *weli* Ch.). Salt: *lunu* = *loṇa*, Skr. *lavaṇa* (Mald. *lone* P., *lonu* Ch.). For gem L. gives *mānika*, which is met with in this sense as *mānik* in inscriptions as early as the end of the twelfth century (*Journ. of the R. As. Soc. N. S. VII*, p. 161, 165) and must be looked upon as a remodelling of Skr. *māṇikya*; the Elu word *ruvan*, gold, gem (N. v. 219, 221), in inscriptions gem, *Journ. R. As. Soc., N. S., vol. VII*, p. 166), = *ratana*, was however apparently at one time not unknown to the popular speech. The general name for ore, metal, is *ló* = *loha*: *vide* Clough s. v. and cf. Mald. *loë*, "cuiivre," P., *ratulo*,

copper, Ch. (*i. e.* red ore, *ratu* = *ratta*), *ramvanloë* “airain,” P., = *rangwanló*, “brass,” Ch. (*i. e.* gold-colored ore, *van* = *vanna*). Gold was originally *ran*, thus in inscriptions in *loc. cit. supra* and Elu *ram*, *ran*, *raṇa* (*N. v.* 219), (Mald. *rhan*, P. *rang* Ch.), a greatly contracted form of *hirañña* = Skr. *hiranya*; at the present time, it seems *ratran*, *i. e.* red gold, is mostly spoken of. Silver: *ridi*, in Elu also *ridiya* = *rajata* (*N. v.* 219), (Mald. *rihy*, P. *rihi* Ch.). The Pāli words *kālatipu* and, *sīsa* are explained by Subhūti in *Abhidh.* v. 493 by English “tin and lead” and Sinh. *kalutumba*; for *tumba* Clough gives the meaning “lead.” Now as *tipu* is clearly Skr. *trapu*,²² and Sinh. *kalu* like Pali *kāla* means black, it necessarily follows that *tumba* = *tipu* is the name for lead and tin alike, and the kind characterized by the epithet “black” can only be lead. This assumption is entirely borne out by the Mald., for according to P. *callo-thimara* is lead, *oudutimara* tin (Sinh. *hudu*, *sudu*, = *saddha*, white). The resemblance of *timara* to *tumba* is strange. Perhaps a confusion with Skr. *tāmra*, Pali and Sinh. *tamba*, copper, has taken place. Or should the reading *trapra* in *Amarak.* II. 9, 106, gain credence from this? The word also given for lead, *īyam* or *īyam*, might very plausibly be connected with *sīsaka*, but in that case I should at present not know how to explain the *m.* Non-Aryan certainly is the word for iron *yakada* = Mald. *dagande* (P.), *dagadu* (Ch.). The name for quicksilver is Aryan however: Mald.

²² *Kālatipu*, which has been overlooked by Childers, also confirms the correctness of the reading, doubted by him, *tipu* in *Abhidh.* v. 1046.

râha (P., Ch.) = *rasa*, Sinh. mostly united with *diya* water: *rahadiya*, *rasadiya*.

Human settlements, &c., village: *gama* = *gâma*; town: *nuvara* = *nagara*; both of frequent occurrence in names of places. For road, street, we have: *maga* = *magga* (Mald. *magu*) and *māvata mahavata*, = *mahāpatha* (Childers, *Journ. R. A. Soc. N. S.* vol. VII, p. 43). *Vītiya* (also in Elu, N. v. 106) and *vīdiya* are only remodelling, of the tatsama *vīthiya*. House: *gê*, *geya*, = *geha* (Mald. *gué* P., *gé* Ch.), and in the compound already mentioned above *gedara*. Gate, door: *dora* = *dvāra* (Mald. *dore* P., *doru* Ch.); bolt: *agula* = *aggala*. Post, pillar: *kanuva* = *khānuka* (Mald. *kani* Ch.) Field: *keta* = *khetta*.

Of implements, useful articles, &c., with Aryan appellations I mention only the following:—Ship: *næva* = **nāvikā* for *nāvā* (Mald. *nav* Ch.). Raft, boat: *orava* = Skr. *uḍupa*, Pali *uḷumpa* (Mald. *ody*, P. *odi* Ch.) (Childers, *Journ. R. A. Soc. N. S.* vol. VII, p. 45). Mast: *kumbaya* = *kumbhaka* cf. *kūpaka* (Mald. *kubu* Ch.). Net: *dæla* = **jālikā* for *jāla* (cf. Mald. *dæ* Ch. ?). For the cart and its parts *riya*, cart, = *ratha*, *kaka*, *saka*, wheel, = *çakka*; *næba*, nave, = *nābhikā* for *nābhi*; *wim*, felloe, = *nemi*, are the forms of the respective words which conform to phonetic laws; although at present I am only able to give them on the authority of the Elu of the Sinhalese-English volume of Clough, and of Subhūti's notes to *Abhid.* v. 373 f., yet I consider it in every way probable that they belonged at one time to the popular speech. Instead of the first two now-a-days the tatsamas *rathaya* (besides *gæla*) and *chakraya* are current.

Plough; *nagula* = *naṅgala*, Skr. *lāṅgala*. Axe: *vāya* = **vāsikā* for *vāsī*. Hammer: *mitiya* = **mutṭhika* for *mutṭhi* (cf. Mald. *muri* Ch.), as the Elu form C. gives also *mugura* = *muggara*. Bow: *dunna*, older *dunu*, = *dhanu*; with *diya*, bowstring, = *jiya*, and the compound *dunudiya* which appears to be no longer used in the modern everyday language, cf. Mald. *dā*, “string” (Ch.). *Īya*, arrow, I would, in spite of the secondary form given by C. *hāya*, derive from **ihiya* = **isuka* for Skr. *ishu*, Pali *usu*. Of articles of clothing I may mention only *pili*, *pilī*, = *patī* (cf. Mald. *pellé*, “de la toile,” P., *feli*, “cotton cloth,” = *fēli* “waist-cloths of native manufacture,” Ch.), and *kapu*, cotton, probably for **kapahu* = *kappāsa* (cf. Mald. *capa* P., *kafa* Ch.). Boiled rice: *bat* = *bhatta* (Mald. *baé* Ch., cf. also perhaps Mald. *bate* “meal,” Ch.?) Flour: *piti* = *pitṭha* (cf. Mald. *fū*, “flour,” Ch.?). Book: *pota* to *potṭhaka* = Skr. *ṣṭastaka* (Mald. *foi* Ch.).

Time. The word for year, *avurudda*, older *avurudu*, Goldschmidt would derive from Skr. *saṁvatsara*; if this is correct we must go back to an older **havaradu* = **sa(m)vārachchha* for *saṁvachchhara* (cf. the examples given above, p. 21 of *d* from *ch*); the Mald. *aharu* (Ch.) is possibly a still further contraction. For month the old form is *maṅa*, *masa*, = *māsa*, which is also used in compounds like *ilmasa*, the cold month (*vide supra* p. 17) (Mald. *masse* P., *haḍumas*, “lunar month, Ch.); in the modern speech the tatsama *māsa-ya* prevails. Day: *davaka*, *davasa*, = *divasa* (Mald. *duas* Ch., cf. in P. *eyouāuas*, “le temps passé,” and *paon duas* “le temps avenir”), and derived from this *davāla*, *davala*, daytime (L.), from

**davahala*; cf. *davahal* (Ch.), Elu *daval* (N. v. 45), and Mald. *duale* (P.). Night: *rcé*, which must be derived from a **rāti* for Pali *ratti*, Skr. *rātri* (Mald. *ré* Ch., *regande*, “nuict,” *reuegué*, “il est nuict” P.). To this I add the adverbs of time: day-before-yesterday *perédá*, from *pera*, before, earlier, which is connected in some way with Skr. *prāva* (cf. Skr. *pūrvedyus*); *iyiyé*, *íyê*, yesterday, to *hiyyo* Skr. *hyas* (Mald. *yé* P., *íyye* Ch.); *ada*, to-day, = *ajja* (Mald. *adu* P.); *heṭa*, *seṭa*, to-morrow, which I would derive from a *se* answering to the Pali *sve*, *suve*, the *ṭá* reminds one of the homologous dative ending; *anikdá* and assimilated *aniddá*, day-after-tomorrow, from *anika*, the other, an extension of *añña*, Skr. *anya* (cf. Skr. *anyedyus*).

The foregoing comparison may give a fair idea as to how largely diffused is the Aryan element among the most essential words of the language. In the case of the pronouns, numerals, particles, and verbs Childers has pointed out a like preponderance of this element.²³ In his full treatise on this subject the author of this sketch will compare the undoubtedly Aryan element of the

²³ In certain particulars his first sketches can now be considerably amplified and corrected. His derivation of the pronoun *mé*, this, from the stem *ima* is supported by the nom. *ima* of the inscriptions (e. g. E. Müller, *Report on Inscriptions*, &c. 1879, p. 4). *Api*, we, and *topi*, you, are according to P. Goldschmidt (*Report*, &c. 1876, p. 4) and E. Müller (*Report*, &c. 1878, p. 6) to be traced to the Prâkrit *amhe* and *tumhe*. *Siṭinavâ*, stand, be, must be derived not from Pali *santhâna* but from the well-known Prâkrit present *chitṭhati*. It may here be incidentally mentioned that the root *sthâ* has produced another derivative as a verb substantive, namely *tibenavâ*, strictly passive of *tabanavâ*, “to put, to place,” which we have above (p. 26) derived from a *thapayati* = Skr. *sthâpayati*.

entire ancient vocabulary as fully as possible, at the same time, however, seeking to approach closer to the subject of the non-Aryan remainder.

Notes by the Translator.

The above paper was read by Dr. Kuhn at the session of the Philos.-Philol. class of Munich on 5th July 1879. As far as I am aware he has not yet read or published the fuller essay to which this is only preliminary: the delay is fortunate, as Dr. Kuhn will thereby be enabled to make use of the valuable paper by Dr. Ed. Müller, entitled "Contributions to Sinhalese Grammar," published by the Ceylon Government in 1880.²⁴ I shall proceed to notice a few instances where Dr. Müller's conclusions agree with Prof. Kuhn's and *vice versa*. With regard to the colonization of Ceylon Dr. Müller accepts the Sinhalese traditions respecting Lâla, "not," he says, "because I am of opinion that more faith ought to be placed in the legends of the Sinhalese than other Hindus, but because I see no reason whatever why they should choose a small and insignificant kingdom as the native country of their ancestors." To this he appends the following note:—"Lassen (*Ind. Alterth.*, vol. II, p. 105) identifies Lâla with Lâṭa (Greek Larika—Gujarât). The whole context of the *Mâhāv.* however shows that this cannot be meant. King Niśśanka Malla, a prince of the Kâlinga, who has left many inscriptions in different parts of Ceylon, was born in a city called Simhapura, which he maintains to be the same as Simhapura where Wijaya was born. If so Lâla was part

²⁴ And since reprinted, with correction of misprints, &c., in the *Ind. Ant.* July-August 1882.—D. F.

of the later kingdom Kâlinga, a not unlikely place to suppose the Âryan conquerors of Ceylon to have started from. This seems also to be the opinion of Burnouf (*Recherches sur la Géographie Ancienne de Ceylan*, p. 61), as he identifies Lâla with Râḍhâ—‘la partie basse du Bengale actuel, qui s’étend sur la rive droite de la rivière Hougli, et comprend les districts de Tamlok et de Midnapour.’ This country then must have been thoroughly Âryan at so remote a time as the 5th century B. C. at the latest, for not only is the Sinhalese language Sanskrit but the vast majority of the higher castes of the Sinhalese have unmistakably the Âryan type of faces, and, as for the lower castes, they neither look like Dravidians, but resemble the Veddâs.’²⁵ It would seem from this last sentence that Dr. Müller does not believe the original inhabitants of Ceylon to have been Dravidian, though he does not propose any other theory of their origin. With regard to the Væddô (not Væddâ, as Prof. Kuhn has it), from the scanty materials available it would appear that their language is a dialect of Sinhalese: Maha Mudaliyar Louis De Zoysa has informed me that the Væddô use words of Sanskrit origin which are not to be found in Sinhalese literature for many centuries back. It is much to be regretted that the ill-health of this able scholar prevents his accomplishing the task which he had in view of a monograph on the Væddô and their language.²⁶

²⁵ *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, p. 198, note 2.

²⁶ Since this was written a paper has been published in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch R. A. S.*, vol. VII, part II, by Mr. De Zoysa, “On the Origin of the Veddâs,”

As to the *Rodiyas*, Alwis in the paper referred to in note 8 says that from amongst 128 words given by Casie Chitty he could only identify 6 Sinhalese words, but even of these six more than one of his identifications is erroneous. As Casie Chitty's list is not generally available to scholars, I give it here, in the hope that Dr. Kuhn and other orientalist may succeed in clearing up the mystery which enshrouds the origin of some of the words. I have in the third column given some suggestions as to the derivation of the words: these in many instances will no doubt be proved to be wrong. The Dravidian and Malayan words I owe to my brother, Mr. A. M. Ferguson, Jr.

which contains interesting specimens of their language. A notable feature is the retention of the palatal *c* which the Sinhalese has changed to *s* or *h*. The same issue of the *C. B. R. A. S. Journal* contains some valuable notes on the Maldivian language, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, whose report to the Ceylon Government, now passing through the press, will form a welcome addition to the meagre information existing concerning the inhabitants of the Maldives. Prof. Virchow has also recently published a most valuable essay on the *Væddô* (Berlin, 1881), dealing with their origin from an ethnological rather than a philological stand-point, his conclusion being that they are the aborigines of Ceylon and of non-Aryan race.—D. F.

(1) God	bakurô	cf. <i>batâra</i> , used by all the Malayan dialects for "God," from <i>avatâra</i> .
(2) heaven	teriyangé	<i>teri</i> v. 104; <i>angé</i> appears to be a general affix, meaning "thing," = <i>anga</i> ?
(3) earth	bintalavuva	S. <i>bin</i> = <i>bhâmi</i> ; <i>talâva</i> = <i>tala</i> . (Identified by Alwis.)
(4) sun	îlayata teriyangé	<i>îlayata</i> , cf. S. <i>eliya</i> = <i>âloka</i> ; cf. Punan Dayakelo; <i>teriyange</i> v. 2.
(5) moon	hâpateriyangé	<i>hâpa</i> (?); <i>teriyange</i> v. 2.
(6) stars	hâpangaval	<i>hâpa</i> v. 5; <i>anga</i> v. 2; <i>val</i> =S. <i>val</i> , plur. termination ?; cf. Buku-tan Dayak <i>apai-andar</i> .
(7) light	gigiri	cf. S. <i>gigiri</i> , thunder.
(8) darkness	kaluvælla	Identified by Alwis as = S. <i>kalawara</i> .
(9) fire	dulumû	cf. S. <i>dala</i> = <i>jâlâ</i> .
(10) water	nîlatu (P-lâ-)	cf. Tamil <i>nâr</i> , Telugu <i>nîllu</i> , water; cf. Malay <i>laut</i> , sea.
(11) sea	terilâtu	v. 104, 10.
(12) river	nîlâtuva	v. 10.
(13) tank	nîlâtukaṭṭinna	<i>nîlâtu</i> , v. 10; <i>kattinna</i> , cf. Tamil <i>aneikkattu</i> , dam, anicut.
(14) mountain	teriboraluvangé	v. 104, 18, 2.
(15) village	dumûna	

(16) field	paṅgurulla (ʔ-ræ-)	S. paṅguwa, a division (from Tamil paṅgu), = bhāga; rælla, a fold, yard.
(17) jungle	raluva	
(18) sand, dust, mud, stone	} boraluva	S. boralu, gravel. (Identified by Alwis.)
(19) man	gævá	
(20) woman	gævī	cf. S. gæni.
(21) boy	bīlaendá	S. bīlīndá. (Identified by Alwis.)
(22) girl	bīlaendī	v. 21.
(23) body	muruti	S. mártti.
(24) hair	kaluvæli	S. kalu, black; væli, cf. S. væla, creeper, vælope, the hair of the head; cf. Bugis veluak, hair; cf. 8.
(25) head	keradiya	
(26) eye	lâvatê	
(27) face	iravuva	
(28) ears	iravuvê angaval	v. 27, 2, 6.
(29) nose	iravuva	v. 27.
(30) mouth	galla	cf. S. kata; cf. Ruinga gall.
(31) tongue	galagevunu	v. 30.
(32) hand	ḍagula	cf. Pali aṅguti, finger, aṅguttha, thumb.

- (33) breast hidulu
(34) belly pekaritta
(35) flesh murutum̃
- (36) milk hiduluangaval
(37) blood latu
(38) spittle gallé latu
(39) husband gâdiyâ
(40) wife gâdi kevenni
(41) father hidulu gævâ
(42) mother hidulu gævi
(43) grandfather ilayak hidulu gævâ
(44) grandmother ilayak hidulu gævi
(45) brother eka amgê gâdiyâ
(46) sister eka amgê gâdi
(47) son gâdi bilændâ
(48) daughter gâdi bilændi
(49) priest navatâ
(50) elephant palânuvâ
(51) cheetah raluva bussâ
- cf. S. *hida*, heart.
cf. S. *pekaniya*, navel; *rikta*, rit, vacuity.
v. 23. (Alwis identifies with S. *mulatan*, which he says means "that which is cooked": this is clearly untenable.)
v. 33, 2, 6.
cf. S. *latu*, lac dye, *lé*, blood, = *lohita*.
v. 30, 37.
v. 40; *kevenni*, cf. S. *gæni*.
v. 33, 19.
v. 33, 20.
v. 39, 21.
v. 39, 22.
cf. Tamil *pal*, tooth; *ânei*, elephant.
v. 17, 56.

(52) bear	mratimiganaṅgayâ	v. 35, 118, 2.
(53) wild hog	gal mratayâ	
(54) domestic pig	hâpa mratayâ	
(55) deer, elk	raluvaluddâ	v. 17, 62.
(56) dog	bussâ	cf. Müller's derivation of <i>S. ballâ</i> from Skr. <i>bhâsha</i> and affix <i>la</i> .
(57) bitch	bissî	v. 56.
(58) cat	buhâkavannâ	v. 56.
(59) jackal	paṅgurulla bussâ	v. 16, 56.
(60) vaṅdurâ	bûlâvâ	
(61) rilavâ	nâtuvâ	
(62) bull	luddâ	
(63) cow	liddî	
(64) calf	ludubîlændâ	v. 62, 21.
(65) bull buffalo	paṅguru luddâ	v. 16, 62.
(66) cow buffalo	paṅguru liddî	v. 16, 63.
(67) iguana	bimpallò	<i>S. bim</i> = <i>bhîmi</i> ; <i>pallò</i> , cf. <i>S. pallî</i> , "a small house lizard" (<i>Cl.</i>) Tamil <i>palli</i> .
(68) alligator	nîlâtu terihâpayâ	v. 10, 104, 105.
(69) tortoise	pêlâvâ	
(70) lizard	ahâru buluvâ	

(71) snake	ilayâ	cf. Tamil <i>ilâ</i> , to drag.
(72) cock	patilayâ	
(73) hen	patili keta	
(74) chicken	patili bilaendâ	v. 73, 21.
(75) fish	nîlâtuvam	v. 10.
(76) tree	uhælla	cf. S. <i>uha</i> , high.
(77) flower	uhulilangê	v. 76, 2.
(78) fruit	lâunâ	cf. Tagbenua <i>laun</i> .
(79) cocoanut	matu lâ unâ	cf. Tamil <i>matu</i> , toddy, <i>mattei</i> , husk; v. 78.
(80) jak	vetti amgaval	
(81) plantain	pabburukan	cf. S. <i>puvâlu</i> , plantain, <i>ruk</i> , a tree.
(82) areka nut	pongalam	cf. S. <i>puvak</i> = <i>pûga</i> .
(83) betel	tebalâ (? tobala)	cf. Pali <i>tambâlâ</i> .
(84) tobacco	rebut	
(85) paddy	atumadu	<i>atu</i> (?); <i>madu</i> , v. 86,
(86) rice	madu	
(87) kurakkan	hînkevuna	S. <i>hîn</i> , small, used as prefix to many names of plants.
(88) straw	pangaran	
(89) temple	bakuruangê	v. 1, 2.
(90) house	dumuna	v. 15.

(91) deer	matilla		
(92) cloth	potiya	cf. Tamil <i>pottti</i> ,	
(93) mat	piṭavāṇṇa		
(94) pot	vāmé		
(95) water pot	nīlātu vāmé	v. 10, 94.	
(96) rice pot	migiṭi vāmé	v. 118, 94.	
(97) mortar and pestle	lukkana angaval	v. 119, 2, 6.	
(98) knife	nāduva		
(99) honey	uhælla latu	v. 76, 37.	
(100) jaggery	gal miri	cf. S. <i>gula</i> , jaggery; <i>śūṭihiri</i> , sweet,	
(101) salt	hurubu		
(102) lime	aharu bulu		
(103) oil	maṭubu		
(104) good	teri	<i>matu</i> , cf. 79. (This must also mean "great," v. 2, 11, 14. &c.) cf. Tamil <i>tiri</i> , holy, <i>teri</i> , to select. Also Tamil <i>periya</i> , great?	
(105) bad	hāpayi	cf. Pali <i>pāpa</i> .	
(106) no	navati	cf. S. <i>næta</i> .	
(107) to go, walk	dissenavā		
(108) to come	tevinavā	cf. Kian Dayak <i>tevah</i> .	

(109) to sit	yæpinnavâ
(110) to sleep	lâvatânâtvenavâ
(111) to dance	kuttandupanavâ
(112) to sing	kaellani igilenavâ
(113) to laugh	gaḷu pâhinavâ
(114) to weep	iraval lukkanavâ
(115) to see	pekanavâ
(116) to open	hâpakaranavâ
(117) to cook	navatkarānavâ
(118) to eat	miḡannavâ
(119) to beat	lukkanavâ
(120) to kill	rahukaranavâ
(121) to die	hikkenavâ
(122) to bury	tâvanavâ
(123) to give	yappanavâ
	v. 16; cf. S. <i>navatvanavâ</i> , to cease, to stop, to hinder.
	cf. Tamil <i>kuttâḍu</i> , to dance, <i>panni</i> , to make.
	cf. S. <i>kaelum</i> , gladness, <i>Kælani</i> = <i>Kâlyāni</i> , <i>kelinavâ</i> , to sport;
	<i>gîta</i> , song, Gipsy <i>gîti</i> .
	v. 30:
	v. 27; 119.
	Pali <i>pekkhati</i> , (Alwis identifies with S. <i>penenavâ</i> , to appear.)
	cf. Malay <i>mâkan</i> .

In a letter to the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. I, p. 258), Dr. Hyde Clarke states that the Rodiya “belongs to the same general family as the Kajunah.” He further says:—“There is little direct resemblance between the Kajunah and the Abkhass, or between the Kajunah and the Rodiya, but the relationship of each is rather with the Abyssinian class.” This Abyssinian class, he says, comprises the languages of the Agaws, Waags, Falashas (Black Jews), Fertits, Dizzelas and Shankalis; and with these he connects, besides the Rodiya, the Abkhass of Caucasia, and the Galela of the Eastern Archipelago, a Siberian class and two American classes being also related. Dr. Clarke concludes his letter by saying:—“The group which I have named at present—the Siberio-Nubian—must have had possession of the whole of India before the Dravidians.” Unfortunately, Dr. Hyde Clarke gives no proofs for his statements, and, as I have no vocabularies of the languages mentioned, I am unable to compare them with the Rodiya. The *Treasury of Languages* (1873) pronounces Rodiya to be allied to Hindí, but this book, though it has the authority of some eminent names, is not altogether reliable, *e. g.* its statement that “Elu or high Sinhalese is Dravidian and closely resembles Tamíl.” With reference to note ⁹ I may mention that Dr. Müller (*loc. cit.*) gives a number of comparisons of Sinhalese words with the corresponding forms in the Aśoka, Dramatic and Jaina Magadhi, the resemblances being sometimes very close. The word *hamuda* should have no asterisk: it is found in several

inscriptions. With regard to the Sinhalese phonetic system, Dr. Müller states that the original Sinhalese alphabet had only the three short vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, besides *e* and *o*, the original quantity of which is still uncertain. The oldest Sinhalese also possessed the consonant *c*, of which Dr. Müller says :—“ *c* I have met with in inscriptions till the fourth century, afterwards it immigrated into *s*, and in the ninth century has quite disappeared.” On the other hand, the original alphabet lacked the cerebral *ḥ* and anusvâra. With reference to the latter Dr. Müller says :—“ Although the anusvâra does not appear in Sinhalese words up to the fourth century A. D., it is doubtful whether it was not pronounced; for we later find many words written with anusvâra or a nasal before a consonant which had the same in Skt. but not in ancient Sinhalese, while it would be difficult to consider them all as tatsamas; for instance Skt. *chandra*, A. S. *chada*, modern Sinhalese *handa*, Maldivian *hadu* (*hadu* is a mistake), besides Skt. *aṅga* mod. Sin. *anga*, Skt. *maṇḍala*, M. S. *maṇḍul*, ‘etc.’ He says further :—“ It is true the Sinhalese in ancient times wrote the anusvâra and nasal, before strong consonants in Pâli words, and besides without assuming the questionable words to be tatsamas they might have been altered by the influence of the priesthood, the powerful instructors of the people. And on the other hand there are instances where the nasal has been lost for ever. I therefore consider it best to assume that the Sinhalese had lost anusvâra and the nasal before other consonants.” According to Dr. Müller,

vowel lengthening is due to (1) contraction and (2) accent. As instances of the latter he mentions *bohó(ma)* = *bahu*, *asúva* 80, *anúva* 90, and verbal forms like *gaelíma* (from *gala-nará*, \surd *gal*) &c., as against older *senim*, *sitim* (10th century), and still older *palisatarikama* for *pratisaṃskárita-karma*. Childers' theory to account for the terminal *á* of animate nouns is shown by Dr. Müller to be incorrect. He says:—"The lengthening of the final vowel in animates as *á* in *minisá*, I believe is due to a former termination in *ak*, affix *ka*, now used to indicate indefiniteness in inanimates. In modern Indian vernaculars, too, we find *á* as a masculine termination, comp. Beames vol. II, p. 160." He also says:—"Originally every Sinhalese word terminated in a vowel: between the 7th and 9th century the tendency of the language was so much changed that most nouns came to terminate in a consonant; later, a short *a* was appended to inanimates, animate males partly contracted the syll. *ak* to *á* (so at least I comprehend this process at present), and if they ended in *u* or *i*, this had been changed into *wak* and *yak*. *W* and *y* assimilated with the preceding consonants, and we thus find double consonants with *á* in the nominative singular (for instance *kurulu*, *kurulwak*, *kurullá*)." On the subject of the vowel sound *æ* (long *ǣ*) Dr. Müller says:—"A further important addition to the vowel system was made by the two characters peculiar to Sinhalese *æ* and its lengthening *ǣ*. They are not found yet in the 4th century but are firmly established in the 9th (about the interval I am unable to judge) yet, though not written they

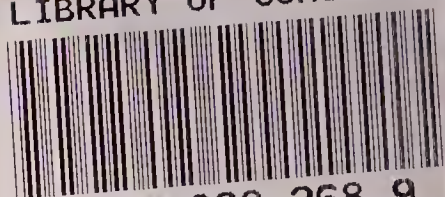
may have been pronounced long ago." He then quotes from Beames' *Comp. Gram.* vol. I, p. 141 ff, the following (as he justly terms it) "interesting note":—"The Bengali language, as actually spoken by all classes, from the highest to the lowest, differs in many respects from the language as written in books. Especially is this noticeable in the treatment of the vowel *á*, which in colloquial usage is frequently, in fact almost universally, corrupted into *e*." But, curiously enough, the latter part of Mr. Beames' note, which is the most interesting with reference to the point under discussion, Dr. Müller omits, but, as his remarks refer to this very part, I think the omission must be due to the printer. Mr. Beames says:—"This Bengali *e* is pronounced more like the English *a* in *mat*, *rat*, etc., than like the full Italian *e* in *veno*, *avete*, etc., and seems to be a lineal descendant of the short *ě* of Prakrit." "Now," Dr. Müller says, "this is exactly the sound of the Sinhalese *æ*, and as the Sinhalese probably came from a part of Bengal, they might have brought this sound with them. There is another reason to suppose that these sounds are older than the invention of characters proper to them. The Sinhalese *vadáranavá* is a corrupted tats. from Páli *avadháreti*; the verbal noun at present is *vædâruma*, older *væjâruma*. Now, in an inscription of the second or third century A. D. at Badagiriya we find *vajeriya* 'he declares,' i.e., *e* used to express the sound *æ* which is a modification of *á*." I may just remark in passing that the representation of this sound by the Roman diphthong *æ* may be considered very fairly satis-

factory, the *æ* having the same sound in Anglo-Saxon, and the Sinhalese character itself being a modification of the symbol for *a*. Prof. Kuhn's remarks on the palatals need some modification, owing to the fact which I have already mentioned of *c* being found in the oldest Sinhalese. With reference to the weak nasal sounds before the explosives *g*, *ḍ*, *ḍ*, and *b*, it is certainly curious that writers on the Sinhalese language have said so little on the subject. Even Childers has not, so far as I am aware, described the exact pronunciation of these sounds. In fact, Alwis, in the places referred to by Dr. Kuhn (*SS.* p. lxi, and *Descript. Cat.* p. 236), is the only one who gives any sort of explanation of these nasals. He says they are "very soft," "very faint," and, "metrically, one syllabic instant." But, according to him, this weak nasal is also found before *j* in Sinhalese. This I very much doubt: I believe the *ñ* has its full sound before *j* in Sinhalese as in Sanskrit or Pali. Childers' representation of this weak nasal sound by *ñ* before *g*, *ḍ*, *ḍ*, and by *ṁ* before *b* is very satisfactory. In Alwis' *Descript. Cat.* the combined nasal and explosives are represented by (*ṅ*)*g*, (*n*)*j*, (*ṅ*)*ḍ*, (*n*)*ḍ*, (*m*)*b*—a very awkward method certainly; and in the Rev. C. Alwis' *Sinhalese Handbook* they are printed *n-g*, *ṅ-ḍ*, *n-d*, *m-b*. In a review of this latter book in the *Ceylon Observer* of 14th July 1880 Dr. Müller made some remarks on the representation of these combinations which led me to think that he had failed to notice this peculiarity of the Sinhalese language, but from a passage in his *Contributions to Sinhalese Grammar* I find I did him injustice.

He there says :—“ At present there is a difference in pronunciation between the real bindu and those weak nasals before other consonants. I doubt whether any two kinds of nasals existed in the twelfth century, for we find the bindu used with *k* and ligatures with all the other nasalized consonants.” The real sound of such words as *aṅga*, *haṅḍa*, *haṅḍa*, *aṁba*, may be learnt by pronouncing them as *aga*, *hada*, *hada*, *aba*, but in each case interjecting a slight nasal before the explosive. I may mention that though in Ceylon manuscripts the compound characters which in the Sinhalese alphabet are used to represent the above sounds are made to represent the Pali *ṅg*, *ṅḍ*, and *mb* (*ṅḍ* is never so used), the best native scholars at present carefully distinguish them in writing, the letters being joined in Pali words but never combined. The anusvâra in the north Indian dialects is spoken with a strong nasal, whereas in Sinhalese it is very slightly nasal. When final or preceding a sibilant, the *m̃*, as Childers has remarked, is pronounced like *ng* in German *gang*. (I would in passing raise a protest against the introduction by Rhys Davids in his translation of the *Jâtaka* of the unsightly symbol invented by Pitman for the *ng* sound. The *m̃* or *m̄* has now obtained a recognised standing as the Roman equivalent of the *anusvâra*.*) Prof. Kuhn does not speak of the pronunciation given to *jṅ* in modern Sinhalese, but Dr. Müller says :—“ The oldest form of this combination is *ny* in *savanyutopete*

* I am glad to learn from Prof. Fausböll that he and Dr. Trenckner at least, intend to adhere to the signs *n̄* and *m̄*.—D. F.

(inscription at Kirinde) where the *y* is marked by a separate sign below the line. The group is still pronounced though not written in this way in Ceylon." Now this is certainly wrong: *jñ* is always pronounced by the Sinhalese as *gñ*, just as it is pronounced *gy* in Hindi, &c. The asterisk before *kurulu* should be omitted, the word being genuine. According to Müller *yahala* = *saháya*. The reason why *val* = *vana* was prefixed to *asa* = *achchha* was, as Goldschmidt has pointed out, to distinguish it from *as* = *assa*. The origin of *rilavá* is certainly obscure. Can it be a contraction from *væli-muva*, wrinkled-face? Cf. *væli-mukha* with the same meaning as a name for the white-faced monkey (Clough). Müller explains *monará* as being for *morana*, i.e., *mora* + *na*, and this *na* he believes to be due (as well as the *ná* in *ukuná* = *úká* and in *góná* = *go*) to a feminine in *ní*: the *nímeri* of the Maldives he thinks confirms this. Müller's derivation of *oya* from Skr. *srotas*, Pali *sotto*, is I think the right one, and not *ogha*. The word for hill is *kanda*, not *kañda*, and is, as Müller shows, from Skr. *skhanna*: the older form is *kana*. Sand is *væli*, not *væla*. The word for iron, *yakada*, which Prof. Kuhn says is certainly non-Aryan, is as Aryan as it can be: it is a compound, (*a*)*ya-kada* = *ayo-kandañ*; cf. in Clough *yakula*, *yagula*, *yadañda*, *yadama*, *yapata*, *yapaluva*, *yabora*, *yavula*, *yahañduva*, *yahada*, *yahala*, all compounds from *ya* = *aya*. Müller says that it is doubtful if *oruva* is derived from *udapa* or direct from the Tamil. He derives *íya*, older *híya*, from *çita*, and explains the *í* by the following transitions: *sita*,



hiya, *hî*, *hîya*. The origin of *oluva* is certainly puzzling: cf. Javanese *ulu* with the synonymous *mastika*. Can it be that *oluva* = *matthaka* with loss of initial? Perhaps the Maldivian *bolle*, *bó*, supports this. With the word for leg, *kakula*, cf. Malay *kaki* and Tamil *kál*.

Colombo, Ceylon.
